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# STOP THE STRIKE

By FRANK H. ROSE.

THIRTY years of close and active participation in the trade union movement have brought experiences and induced reflections which are denied to the academic student, however deep his interest, however industrious his research. Intimate knowledge of the men who compose the officialism of the movement, constant contact with those who compose the rank and file, and some facilities for access to the inner counsels which, in a measure, determine its trend, have given the writer unique facilities for observation and judgment. Even though all these elements were obliterated and all the experiences of three decades were ignored, the industrial records of the past twelve months would afford all the evidence necessary to demonstrate the depth and importance of the change that is taking place.

Beneath the inexorable force of economic pressure the old trade unionism has hopelessly broken down. The strike policy has been a ghastly failure. The stunted and poverty-stricken ideals of the orthodox trade union movement have become unrealisable. The virtual command of trade conditions has thinned down to a weak, equivocal voice in their regulation—a voice almost invariably silenced by the more strident mandate of the predominant partner.

Trade unionism has had but one weapon, one line of attack and defence. The political activities in which the unions have been figuring with varying degrees of prominence are no part of their original design, but simply outgrowths, stimulated almost entirely by the miserable futility of their orthodox effort. Their only weapon is some form of withholding labour. When negotiation effects the settle-

ment of a trade dispute, its background and setting is always the strike, or the fear of the strike.

The strike is essentially an abortion. It is the disruption of the natural relation and contact of Labour and the other factors of wealth production. Its doctrine is crudity itself. Its underlying idea, which never varies, is that by withholding labour Capitalism may be starved into subjection. The lock-out is a strike of Capitalism against Labour—a simple reversal of the forces in conflict. Whatever form the strike may take, whether that of entire cessation of work, the stoppage of overtime, the partial closing or complete shutting down of factories or workshops, the object is always the same—the betterment, real or assumed, of the persons engaged in the dispute. Strikes for higher wages, shorter hours, against piecework or overtime, or any of the thousand actual or imaginary grievances of Labour; lock-outs against any of these demands, or for the purpose of imposing the will of the employer upon the workman in any form, have all the same inspiration. It is the desire, not always clearly defined, or even expressed, on the part of the workers to achieve industrial betterment. The ideal of the old trade unionist is just as low as this: that industrial betterment must be bounded by the possibilities of what the strike or the fear of the strike can wring from reluctant Capitalism.

As long as Capitalism remained unorganised there was always the possibility of some modified successes in this direction. The old strike policy held always such a measure of promise. The engineers gained the nine hours, and carried on a long and desperate struggle against piece-work and the "two-lathe" system. Many are the instances of small and sometimes useful achievement through the operation of the strike. But, year by year, the difficulties increased. Vast federations of the employing classes, with perfect equipment, copying all that was most effective in the old trade union method, and astutely eschewing all that experience had shown to be least effective, rose, challenged, fought, and defeated Labour. Against employers, isolated and unorganised, the strike had succeeded. The unions

had been able to force up wages and hold a certain control over their industrial conditions. But a far more perfect organisation of the employers speedily reduced the strike to impotency. The lock-out in action is an instrument of merciless destruction; the lock-out in the background is a shadow of menace and terror. It is little wonder that against so deadly a weapon the strike should be effete and purposeless, and that the experience of those who have faced it should constitute a warning and a fear to the worker.

### THE DECLINE OF THE OLD FAITH.

The trend of modern trade unionism is distinctly away from the strike method of industrial warfare. So far, this trend is at best but semi-conscious. Many influences are at work, however, developing a lively consciousness. Of these the most potent and searching is the restless and persistent propaganda of Socialism, which is swiftly and surely turning the organised workers from old fallacies to newer and broader truths. Besides this, there is the grim irony of fact that not even the stodgiest and most prejudiced of the old trade unionists can evade. Nearly every well-established union is equipped to carry on a strike; not one is half equipped to resist a lock-out. Not one can protect its members from the ruthless speeding up of man and machinery which characterises modern productive systems; scarcely one but has been forced to forfeit the last vestige of control over the machine tools of its craft, not one that can regulate the hours of labour to the extent of creating a guarantee for all its people of the very elementary right to work at their own calling.

The old trade unionism of to-day is the survival of the new trade unionism of the "fifties," and expresses now, as then, the belief that the industrial and social betterment of the workers is achievable by the simple expedient of withholding labour. Its sheet anchor is the strike. Its justification or its condemnation must therefore be found in its actual results, and its actual results will be reflected in the condition of the working class life it has created.

A glance at the general structure of the trade unionism of Great Britain will show that it is almost

entirely composed of skilled and partly skilled workers. Of the 2,000,000 of organised workers more than two-thirds are highly-skilled artisans; a considerable, though much smaller, proportion are semi-skilled, and a comparatively insignificant number are totally unskilled labourers. Then the state of the skilled artisan, in point of wages and general conditions, must be the real test of the value of the strike method.

The most vivid illustration of the failure of the strike is found in the best example of modern trade unionism, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. Here we have a concentration of prodigious numbers. powerful and almost inexhaustible finance, and splendid loyalty to trade union principle. The state of the operative engineer is the supreme test of the value of the strike method. These men have had the cherished advantage of "recognition," the sacred right of "collective bargaining," with the "strike in the background." After sixty years of unexampled effort and sacrifice, the general conditions surrounding their employment are almost startling for their poverty and injustice.

Take wages as the standard of calculation. The highest recognised minimum wage rate is paid in London, where the skilled fitter or turner receives 40s. a week for 54 hours' work; the lowest is that paid at Merthyr Tydvil, where the same class of worker is paid 23s. for the same number of hours. It is reasonable to assume that, having regard to the great difference in the cost of living in the two places, the standard of comfort may be as high, if not higher, in South Wales, as compared with London. And between these two rates will lie the average wages rates of the whole of the operative engineers of the United Kingdom. Actually, the average is about 36s. for every full week worked. But the yearly income resulting from engineering labour is not 36s. multiplied by 52—for no man works 52 full weeks a year—but the average income is really 36s. multiplied by 44. Thus, we find that the net result of sixty years of trade union effort is represented by the living possibilities of £88 per annum in London, and £50 in Wales. Lest I should be accused of at-

tempting to minimise the achievements of trade unionism, let me add that every member has to his credit a sum which fluctuates between £5 and £8, or, roughly, the equivalent of a month's wages, a guarantee against actual starvation in case of unemployment, sickness, and indigent old age. It has taken sixty years to save the consolidated fund and has cost £8,000,000 to secure an average income of £69 per annum—and that only to men in the unusual possession of constant employment.

Nor has the old trade unionism done much, if any more, for other classes of workmen. The strike has had a full and fair trial in the coal mining industry. While it is true that colliers' wages vary even more than those of engineers, it may be said that 6s. a shift will express the average earnings of skilled miners throughout the country. That it is often much less than this is well known—that it is less frequently more than this will scarcely be denied. I have found, both in Durham and Lancashire, levels as low as 3s. 10d. per shift, though I have heard of individual miners, apart from butty men, who have at times earned much above the average of 6s. per shift. In calculating the average income of the working collier at the same amount as that of the engineer, we are erring, if at all, on the generous side.

In the textile industry there are few workers who earn as much as those already quoted. The spinners or "minders" of the Lancashire cotton centres, the power loom overlookers, the tapers, and a few others in the weaving section, are the only cotton operatives who command a wage as high as engineers and miners. For the rest it may be said that the weavers barely average £1 a week (the year round) and that the mass of the card room hands are even worse paid. In the woollen trade, the wages range lower again, and the pay of the flax and jute workers is probably meaner than any of the others. If we take £1 a week as the average of the whole of the textile operatives, we are making ample allowances on the right side.

The skilled workers in the building trade are no better paid than those engaged in the iron trade, and

the position of the whole of the skilled trades may be summarised at 30s. a week. It is impossible to estimate the average of the earnings of the unskilled labourers, but that it is pitifully low is well known. Below those again are the sweated trades, and that these work and live below the poverty line is notorious.

It is the skilled workers, however, who form the great body of the trade union army, and whose present condition may be expressed by the living possibilities of 30s. a week when working, and 7s. or 8s. a week when out of work. To produce these results they have spent fifty millions of their own earnings, and have fought thousands of strikes. It is not remarkable that there should be a growing distrust of a method which has brought no better results.

#### THE TRADE UNION BREAKDOWN.

Only where employers are isolated and unorganised will the strike bear the promise or the possibility of success in the future. Within the trade union movement are defects and diseases which forbid the smallest hope of successful conflict with so poor and effete a weapon. Organised Capitalism will defeat trade unionism on the old lines every time the two come into hostile contact. Whether it is done by opposing the lock-out to the strike, or by holding it in the background as an auxiliary to the farcical freedom of "collective bargaining," matters very little. "Collective bargaining" is nothing but a delusive expansion of the old Manchester School doctrine of "freedom of contract." Without the strike or the lock-out in the background, it amounts only to this; that the workmen are collectively free to accept the conditions the employers collectively think fit to offer, or to collectively remain without employment until hunger on one side or financial anxiety on the other brings the parties to terms. You may multiply the numbers on either side as you will; the principle remains the same.

The strike in the background as a potent accessory to "collective bargaining" is as nothing compared with the lock-out utilised in a similar connection.

The events of last year afford abundant evidence of this. A threat of a lock-out brought the great and powerful Boiler Makers' and Iron and Steel Ship-builders' to their knees, and frightened them into the acceptance of terms which were utterly out of harmony with all their trade union traditions and policy. The vaguest hint of a lock-out held up the North-East Coast engineers, after a year's "collective bargaining" for a trumpery advance of wages. The lock-out of the Hemsworth colliers, after three years of unutterable misery, ended, as the lock-out must always end, in the total defeat of the workers. The strike of the Denton hatters provoked the lock-out as a counterblast, and the lock-out triumphed in seven weeks. Lock-outs were threatened in all three sections of the cotton trade quite recently, and in each instance the workers made peace on disadvantageous terms to escape. Workers are beginning to realise the position. It would be strange were it otherwise.

Distrust of the strike is a growing sentiment. But the growth of the sentiment is accompanied by a strange hesitancy to revoke the old faith and to revise the old policy. The conviction that the strike has ceased to be effective as a weapon of industrial warfare is most reluctantly admitted, however profoundly felt.

#### FACTORS OF FAILURE.

The fear of the lock-out and the heavy consciousness of the failure of the strike are not the only influences which are expediting the passing of the older fallacies. Undoubtedly the first cause of the failure of the old trade unionism is the squalid poverty of its ideal. The grotesque notion that a better social and industrial order can be achieved by simply raising wages or shortening hours is unimaginative, as well as fallacious. It takes no cognisance of the real cause of the evil it seeks to remedy. But, if we assume that the old trade unionism might conceivably lead the workers to a better order of life if comprehensively applied, it only remains to be said that an entire reconstruction and reorganisation must be effected before it can

have any appreciable result upon the workers' condition for the better.

It is impossible for any entire industry and for few trades to make common cause. It is impossible to give even the semblance of coherence and common purpose to any great section of the organised work-people. It is impossible to secure the adoption of a common policy or a common line of action in industrial movements by any single industry.

I cannot pretend to present anything like a clear picture of modern trade unionism. Its complications are so perplexing and its want of design so obvious. The whole movement is a jumble of cross purposes, overlapping, and discord. Exactly how many trade unions there are it is impossible to tell. There are between 200 and 300 usually represented at the great annual gatherings, and many hundreds more that are too insignificant to aspire to representation. There are fully 50 in the engineering trade alone, every branch of which is catered for by one or more sectional societies.

In the textile trades there are sharp divisions between spinners, weavers, overlookers, tapers, beamers, and other sections, and divisions again between the cotton, woollen, and flax trades. The building trades are similarly divided and subdivided. There are scores of unions for unskilled labourers, and more than a dozen for men engaged in the working of cranes and the tending of engines and boilers. There are five or six unions connected with the railway services alone. This sectionalism is continually on the increase, and the endless splitting off of sections and sub-sections makes for a confusion at once bewildering and mischievous.

A vivid consciousness of this anomalous state of things has led to attempts to lessen the sectional evil by the formation of federations which are supposed to cohere some of these volatile fragments. There are probably twenty or more of these federations. The Miners' County Associations are loosely federated, the furnishing trades, the shipbuilding and printing trades, and the various sections of the textile operatives. Besides these sectional federations, there is the General Federation of Trade Unions, to

which something over half-a-million of workers subscribe. With the exception of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, none of these organisations appear to discharge any useful function. They have little or no influence in the direction of keeping the unions in line for concerted action; the inevitable dissensions between the smaller unions composing them, and the friction between the officials, is rather intensified than eased. Such an army, with no better weapon than the strike, can have little hope of victory. The impossibility of concentrating anything like an adequate force upon any effort for betterment is manifest. But beyond this tangle of disorganisation there is the debilitating influence of internecine jealousy and distrust which the multiplicity of unions engenders and accentuates.

### THE BLIGHT OF OFFICIALISM.

The animosities of the unions are chiefly traceable to their officialism. The great growth of sectionalism has brought with it a corresponding increase of the permanent official element. By slow, almost imperceptible degrees, trade union officialism has become a profession, and its members a social caste. A distinct interest, growing curiously apart from the general interest of the rank and file, and drifting more and more widely away from democratic sentiment and practice, has evolved. It is most pathetic because it involves the misapplication of high capacity and great administrative aptitude. Certain it is that the average trade union official compares well with the average man in any walk of life in points of character, intellect, and ability. I am referring especially to the permanent paid secretaries, organisers, delegates, presidents, and executive councilmen of the unions, not to the vast army of district officers who carry on the detail drudgery of the societies in their spare hours for trifling fees. The man who becomes a permanent official unconsciously develops a personal interest, which is distinct from his former interest in the society itself. This is perfectly natural, and quite inevitable, but it is none the less a potent factor in the general confusion of the movement.

Though in most societies these higher officials hold their appointments for stated terms, and may almost all be said to be subject to dismissal, it is very rarely, except for downright misconduct, that a permanent officer is removed from his place. Re-elections are mostly formalities, and only exceptional circumstances provoke more than a passing interest in them. "Once an officer, always an officer," may be said to express the situation. After all, this is no more than fair and proper; for a man who has spent years of middle life in official pursuits is ill fitted to return to workshop life. Nevertheless, it does accentuate the sentiment of self-interest, and leads to an assumption of almost proprietorial right to the occupied position.

Undoubtedly, the bulk of the difficulties in the way of better forms of trade union organisation are raised by the conflicting interests of the official leaders. Just as certainly, the rivalries and jealousies rife in the midst of the movement are attributable to the frequently conscious stimulus of interested officialism.

There is a peculiarly human aspect of this state of affairs. Many of the smaller unions owe their existence to the men who, as a matter of course, become their chief officials. The livings, if not luxurious, are usually superior to those experienced in industrial life. Besides the financial advantages, there is some element of social prominence and a sense of dignity and authority dear to most men. As a general rule this constitutes the chief difficulty, and makes it wellnigh impossible to bring about coalitions which would decrease the number of unions which appear to exist for no purpose but that of providing a salary or several salaries for their officials.

The unskilled labour unions are notoriously kept asunder by the same influences. The actual growth of half the newer unions is due to the same cause. Every attempt to reduce the evil, for evil it is, fails. The competent industrial organisation of the workers becomes hopeless; and, were the strike a competent weapon, there is no disciplined army to use it. Much more might be said concerning the

mischief wrought by the petty intrigues of the host of small and relatively insignificant and useless unions and their equally superfluous officials, but I have only in view a demonstration of the influences which account for the failure of the strike to accomplish the very limited mission involved in the old trade union creed. Criticisms of persons can hardly help us to correctly summarise actual results or future possibilities. When capable and astute men are hanging on to a species of vested interest and find it necessary to foster animosity and wrath among the workers to give them a tighter grip, there remains no cause for wonder that trade unionism on the old lines has miserably failed as an instrument of industrial progress.

The vast majority of strikes terminate in favour of the employers or in compromise inimical to the interest of the workers. The stern logic of fact cannot be always ignored. Nearly all the great industrial conflicts of the past decade have been disastrous to the workers. The disorganisation of the employers is the only guarantee of partial success. Under any other conditions the strike injures more friends than foes: its recoil is ever deadlier than its fire. Bitter as the lesson is and hard to learn, it is coming home to the slow-moving and prejudiced intelligence of the British trade unionist.

#### IN THE SACRED NAME OF LIBERTY.

The passive acquiescence of the public in the present conditions is somewhat remarkable when closely examined. Long-standing habits of thought appear to have given us a distorted conception of liberty. The liberty of the worker to strike and the liberty of the capitalist to lock out have been exalted into unassailable verities, and the liberty of the rest of the community to occupy the position of chief sufferers seems to be accepted as equally just and reasonable. We need but contemplate the direful and cruel results of this year's struggle in the shipbuilding trade to realise the stupendous character of the anomaly which we have grown to accept as sacred in the name of liberty. The rights and the wrongs of the dispute are of no consequence;

it matters nothing upon which side of this senseless and callous wrangle the sympathies of the public are ranged. The right of any two parties to fight may be conceded, but always with the proviso that their blows shall fall only upon each other. If the fact of the fight destroys my happiness and security, and even cuts me off from my daily bread, then, surely, the exercise by the belligerents of the right to fight is destructive of my liberty to live. This is less a question to be decided by the employers and their workmen than by all the people, for every industrial upheaval is fraught with a greater measure of suffering to its victims than to the combatants.

A strike of five hundred engine fitters throws a thousand families into want and sometimes destitution. A lock-out of the shipyard woodworkers has plunged 500,000 human beings into misery and sorrow. It is monstrous to prate about the rights of any strike or lock-out as long as the burden of suffering must be borne by those who have neither hand in the struggle or voice in the quarrel.

One more illustration of old trade union impotency. This is not the story of many strikes that are lost, but the story of the few that are won. Ernst Hubel, the Secretary of the German Textile Workers, in his report to the International Congress of Textile Workers, offers this unconsciously-eloquent testimony to the abject futility of the strike—even the successful strike: "We have more and more to rely on ourselves. The more we seek to strengthen our position, the more the employers, by their mode of action and powerful resistance, seek to frustrate our efforts. Yet, in spite of all, if we have in the years 1906-7 obtained for 119,550 persons 141,206 marks (£7,060) more per week in wages, we may be somewhat encouraged, *although the social conditions of our colleagues have not experienced a real rise owing to the increased cost of the provisions of life through the political tariff of our aristocracy.*"

So, the "political tariff" of the German aristocracy has the same absorbent capacity as the land and capital monopolies of our own aristocracy. The shillings our workers strike for and win rarely get

as far as their own pockets, and never as far as their homes. The shillings they strike for and lose are gone for ever, and with them the hope and the promise of freedom and happiness to thousands of their helpless fellow-creatures.

### THE LEGACY OF THE PIONEERS.

Where and how has the "strike and starve" trade unionist missed the track the old pioneer heroes of his order marked for him?

Where is the spirit and the inspiration of the old trade union pioneer? It was not such a miserable social chaos as this that formed the ideal for which our fathers fought and sacrificed. Not for this the old trade club heroes dared the prison and exile when they buried their books in the turf and met in secret on the bleak moors.

Listen to a voice from the grave. Every A.S.E. man has heard it, and said "Aye" to it. Sturdy old William Newton, wiser in his generation than we in ours—the father of the A.S.E.—whose words are read to every member of the greatest association of skilled workers the world has seen:

IF UNION BE IMPORTANT TO ANY ORDER OF THE COMMUNITY IT MUST BE PRE-EMINENTLY SO TO THE WORKING MAN, WHOSE ONLY PROPERTY, HIS LABOUR, IS IN CONSTANT DANGER OF BEING DEPRECIATED IN VALUE BY THE COMPETITIVE STRUGGLES IN SOCIETY.

He knew! Why have his children forgotten? The competitive struggles in society, now, as then, are no less the cause of the workers' woe and want. The yearning for a better order and a higher life was the mainspring of the old pioneers' glorious toil. Why should those who walk in the path they smoothed in sorrow and self-sacrifice forget the message and misconstrue their own mission?

The object of the trade union is to better the social and industrial condition of the workers. If the strike method could bring betterment, the strike stands vindicated. But it has not brought betterment, and the condemnation of the strike is not the condemnation of the trade union, but only the

acceptance of the belief that trade unionism must work through truer and surer channels to the realisation of the ideals the pioneers cherished and suffered for.

Trade unionism and Socialism have a common origin and a common object. They are alike the children of the same sorrowing mother. Every trade unionist is, consciously or unconsciously, at one with the Socialist. Put the cases side by side and see how far they coincide, how much they have in common, and where and how much they differ :

## TRADE UNIONISM

Implies a consciousness of social inequity.

Recognises that such social inequity arises from the competitive conditions of society.

Endeavours to rectify existing anomalies by collective action.

Accepts a competitive basis of society as inevitable, and seeks to lighten its incidence by the application of purely industrial remedies, such as higher wages, reduced hours, or trade restrictions.

**METHOD:** Any form of withholding labour.

## SOCIALISM

Implies a consciousness of social inequity.

Recognises that such social inequity arises from the competitive conditions of society.

Endeavours to rectify existing anomalies by collective action.

Repudiates the competitive basis of society and demands the reconstruction of society upon a co-operative basis.

**METHOD:** Independent political action of the workers.

There is not much to learn—there is so much to unlearn. If the awful futility of the strike methods will not teach, then where must we turn for the light? The millions squandered on strikes would ransom the world; the effort and sacrifice and splendid devotion lavished upon the hopeless struggles of one decade might bring Labour's every foe to suppliant submission. There is nothing to show for it all but the golden gift of the hope of a

better day that the strike and the lock-out can never usher in.

Look round !

To-day there is no light in the path of the toiler save the light that Socialism sheds. There is no little sign of betterment. The struggle for life intensifies as the years go on. Work is harder to get, harder to do, harder to keep. Humanity is depreciated and degraded, speeded up to exhaustion, robbed of strength and sinew, crushed in spirit, sterilised in mind and heart. Every skilled worker knows this for himself; how much more need he think for the unskilled? Swift-coming changes have brought the million-fingered machine, the hustle and acute specialisation of a high-speed productive system that is destroying the crafts and turning skilful artisans into machine-wheel cogs without soul or aspiration. It has brought the famished hordes of workless and anxious helots into competition, and the crush at the factory gates and the clamour of the breadless man cheapens the skill and drowns the demand of the skilful. The old trade unionism cannot change it; the strike cannot stay it. The trade unionist is part of the people—the people of whom nearly one-third are always on the verge of destitution. Why has he forgotten he is a citizen—nay, why has he forgotten that he is a trade unionist?

### LET IN THE LIGHT.

High above the clamour of selfish sectionalism and the shrilling of jealous and ambitious officialism rises the voice of the messenger of hope.

"There must be refuge." Mankind's destiny cannot be bounded by the industrial bastille and the shame of a fruitless life. When the trade unionist weaves into his life and work the simple truths of Socialism, the strike and the lock-out will have vanished and trade unionism will reap the harvest the pioneers sowed in tears and travail.

We want the shadow of the lock-out lifted for ever from the heart of the people, and until men surrender the strike we know that the shadow will linger. The broken lives and the shattered hopes

that mark the path of Labour's long and weary march are not the memorials of sacrifice all in vain if they serve to quicken the dormant conscience of the worker and rouse him to a sense of the pitiful wrong they represent. The old fighters who have gone down to their rest have left us their example and their inspiration. They have bequeathed to us all the potentialities of better things if we will but use them aright and cease to imagine that methods are of more importance than the objects they had in view. "LET ME ENTREAT YOU TO AID, BY ALL THE MEANS IN YOUR POWER, A CAUSE SO IMPORTANT TO YOURSELF AND YOUR ORDER. LET CHARITY AND WISDOM GUIDE YOU IN YOUR EFFORTS; REMEMBER THAT IN AIDING OTHERS YOU ARE ELEVATING YOURSELF, AND THAT CO-OPERATION IS THE EMBODIMENT OF BOTH CHARITY TO OTHERS AND WISDOM TO YOURSELF." Thus spake old Newton, the stalwart father of the old Union. If he were with us now he would be the first to recognise the failure of the strike—the only method that existing conditions made possible in his time. He would be in the forefront of the battle to-day, pointing and leading, in the light of a brave man's hope and faith, to the open portals of the better day to come. He would not bid men cringe at the factory gate for the privilege of being allowed inside to tread the everlasting mill for others' profit, or to bear the crushing burden of modern industry for a slave's reward—bread to eat and a hovel to dwell in. He would not tell men it was brave to strike, or honourable to starve women and children, or just to inflict misery on others in a paltry scramble after sixpences.

To unify the forces of Socialism and trade unionism is the work that lies to hand for all who are earnest in the love of their fellows. Trade unionism will wander in the desert until it takes the hand of Socialism and the two pass on together—out of the darkness of ignorance and prejudice into the Empire City of Labour's Dominion—the city whose foundations are Eternal Justice, whose walls are Everlasting Peace, whose gates are Grace and Love.

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